

PEACE NEWS

For War-Resistance and World-Community

No. 622

May 28th, 1948

THREE PENCE

Pre-war Atmosphere

A POST-WAR atmosphere provides an unhappy environment for a democratic people.

After the great simplicity of war, when the illusions inseparable from imperfect democracy are given full scope, when aims are clear cut and realised if not understandable, when complicated issues of international politics are easily represented in terms of the blackest and whitest extremes of an achromatic moral scale, the confusion of peace which immediately succeeds the fighting is extremely upsetting. People come out of the international sports arena after rooting happily for their own side, and find that they have to live

COMMENTARY by CYRIL HUGHES

In the same world as their opponents. The elation of victory soon wears off. Even the despondency of defeat is not a permanent anodyne. The facts of normal life still have to be faced. Most enthusiasts are unable to recover their equilibrium until shortly before the next war.

In other words, a pre-war atmosphere is much more comfortable. Post-war problems, complicated themselves, seem always to lead only to further complications. Pre-war problems, though they may appear complicated enough, offer the prospect of coming simplicity. If things become that tangled, one can always resort to trial by combat, which imposes no intellectual strain.

Back in Nineteen-thirties

SINCE 1945, it has been difficult to decide whether we are living in a post-war or a pre-war period. The events of the past week or so have caused many people to come to a decision at last, with a sense of relief. They have echoed Sagittarius:

"This is the air we are used to breathing; God of Battles! It's peace all right!"

We are back in the nineteen-thirties again. Suspensions, diplomatic manoeuvres, uncertainty. That all worked out all right, in a famous victory.

The signs and portents, therefore, being familiar, are happy ones. Freedom-loving nations on the one hand, tyranny on the other. Political refugees escaping across the frontiers of Europe. "The biggest voluntary political emigration movement since pre-war days," says The Observer, "is now going on from Czechoslovakia." It estimates that there are now about 12,000 Czech refugees outside the frontiers of the country.

The man in the street can understand this, brought up as he is on a romanticised version of the history of the British Empire and trained to regard every problem as divisible into halves, with no other annoying vulgar fractions creeping in. Refugees from the Bolshevik terror come in the same category as refugees from the Nazi terror—a straightforward issue of Right and Wrong, with none of the disturbing undertones involved in the problem of that other vast band of refugees, the Displaced Persons, who are refugees, not from tyranny, but from the war of liberation.

Palestine

SIMILARLY, the man in the street can understand, or thinks he can understand, Palestine at last. That problem puzzled him while Arabs and Jews were equally homicidal towards each other and towards the British. But now, with the British reinforced withdrawal proceeding apace, it

Leading American Clergy appeal to youth:

"BREAK WITH WAR PREPARATION"

A NATION-WIDE appeal to Christian youth both in and out of the armed services to withdraw support immediately from all war preparations and to refuse to submit to conscription if enacted, was made last week-end by fourteen well-known clergymen in the United States.

In a "letter to American Christians of military age—and to their girl friends, sisters, mothers, fathers, pastors and fellow church-members," the fourteen signatories of this appeal declare that "The nation must be prepared to break with war unconditionally."

TURN FROM WAR

"Even so, the individual Christian must not wait until the nation or other individuals repent and turn from war, but must withdraw his own voluntary support as completely as possible. Political and military leaders will not have the incentive to abandon war as a 'last resort' so long as they know that in the showdown they can depend upon the youth of the nation to submit to conscription again.

"For young men we believe breaking with war means refusal to enlist in the armed forces and withdrawal from armed forces for those now in them. 'Peace-time' conscription is such a huge and tragic step toward war, dictatorship and catastrophe that we believe it must be met with total rejection. As the early Christians refused to offer a pinch of incense to Caesar's image, so we believe that Christian youth in the United States today should refuse to grant even the 'token' recognition of

registration to this evil which means disaster for their country and their church.

"Those who are not subject to the draft—the girl friends, sisters, mothers, fathers, Christian ministers, and fellow church-members of these young men should, we believe, support them openly and so far as possible identify themselves with them."

Discussing the reason for rearmament, "that Russia and Communism must be stopped by force," the clergymen point out that "Communism thrives on poverty, war and the social upheaval which marks war. Bolshevism had its first big chance after World War I and took it. It had its second big chance after World War II and took it. For the democratic nations to give Bolshevism another and vastly bigger opportunity in World War III is madness and suicide."

PEACE FIRST

"It is plausible and in a sense true that there must be security and orderly process for settling disputes in order that there may be peace. But it is even more basically true that unless there is peace, unless Russia and the United States stop fighting each other and have enough confidence to work together, no new international security system will be built.

"If Russians profoundly distrust the United States and the Communist regime

is wedded to the dogma of the inevitability of war and the triumph of Communism by means of violence, shall the United States continue its preparations for total violence and thus prove that the Communist dogma is true? We say, no!

"The whole point, we are persuaded, of the Christian message is that in a situation where there is so much distrust, fear and evil, a great act of faith and reconciliation is required. Where so much crass material force has been mobilised, some nation must forego the fatal temptation to rely on still greater force and more consummate savagery, and must heed the inspired prophetic council, 'Not by might, nor by power, but by My spirit, saith the Lord.'

"WE BELIEVE..."

"Therefore, we believe that the United States while calling for universal disarmament, should make it clear that if other nations, and Russia in particular, are not ready to go along, the United States will nevertheless stop making atomic and bacteriological weapons at once and carry through a schedule of complete disarmament as rapidly as possible. The United States should prepare to use the resources and skills thus diverted from huge war preparations to help create the widespread economic well-being and security which promote peace.

"To make this proposal is to ask the American people to pay a great price for peace. This is one of the reasons which commends the proposal to us. One of the chief causes of the present desperate state of mankind is that individuals and peoples who are willing to pay vast sums for war believe, or act as if they believed, that peace can be bought for practically nothing. People who know that war-making requires a total commitment and who are even now risking the nation's existence in preparation for total war, believe, or act as if they believed, that peace-making does not require a total commitment but can go hand in hand with war preparation, that God will give peace to the world although there is not a single nation that is willing to stake its life on trying the way of love and the Cross instead of the way of the Sword and the Atom Bomb."

SIGNATORIES

The signatories include the Rev. Allan Knight Chalmers, professor in the Boston University School of Theology; the Rev. Theodor Walser, formerly Presbyterian missionary to Japan and secretary of the FoR for Greater New York; and the Rev. A. J. Muste; also Bayard Rustin and the Rev. Geo. Houser, Racial-Industrial secretaries of the FoR, who recently received the Jefferson Day Awards from the Council against Intolerance in America, in recognition of their exceptional service in breaking down race-discrimination in inter-state travel. They end their appeal with these words:

"No Americans or Christians who have not demonstrated their integrity in some such way as we have pictured are likely to do effective peace work among Russians and Communists, to whom Christianity is a laughing-stock or an abomination because they feel that Christians sing about Jesus and the Cross but place their trust in atomic bombs. But Christian youth who had demonstrated that they had learned to love the brethren—even their enemies—would appeal to many Russians, certainly to those to whom in an age-long Russian tradition Christianity has found expression chiefly in the words, 'love' and 'community.'"



IT STARTED IN WALES

The above sketch, symbolising their efforts to bring a new spirit into the world, has appeared in many countries throughout the world where children have celebrated "Goodwill Day" on May 18 by issuing a "Goodwill Magazine." The story of the developments that have taken place since the children of Wales first sent out a message of goodwill to the children of the world in 1922 appears on page three.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX)

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4
Stamford Hill 2262

POSTAL SUBSCRIPTION RATES

	Gt. Britain	Abroad.
Three months	4s. 4d.	3s. 10d.
Six months	8s. 8d.	7s. 7d.
Twelve months	16s. 6d.	14s. 4d.

Available from Newsagents and Bookstalls,
or direct from the above address.

CHURCH AND STATE

IT has often been pointed out that if Marxism is true, it must be false. If it is right in declaring that all ideologies are merely cloaks for class-interests, then the Marxist ideology adopted by a large section of the working class itself is no more. Had the Church made its own the workers' demand for political and economic justice, they might have advanced, as did the bourgeoisie in Calvinist countries, under the banner of Christianity; the appeal of Communism might have been forestalled. Christians, therefore, should see in the triumph of Communism a nemesis on their own apostasy, and seek, not to restore the old regime, but to liberalise, or spiritualise, the new.

This view has just been forcibly expounded by the Dean of the Huss Theological Faculty at Prague, in an admirable supplement to The Christian News-Letter.

"I believe" (he writes) "that the social and economic transformation of our life along the lines of Socialism cannot be 'contained' and halted. Any effort to halt it is based on a wrong historical judgment, on an inadequate insight into the process of our times, and is heaping perilous explosive forces under the foundations of our social life. Unfortunately, I do not see any chance to carry out the socialisation of our society without, or even against, the communistic parties as they have been organised during the last thirty years. Communism is partly an heir to the age-long craving for social justice and equality, partly a child of the errors, blindness and greediness of the decadent bourgeois society. I am finding myself, at least for a moment, where the communistic parties are carrying on their historical mission."

While admitting that "the communist-controlled regime may, with a sinister logic, drive our life into the straight-jacket of a police state and a totalitarian system," he nevertheless envisages another possibility: "that the Christian heritage and witness may prove to be a transforming power and keep the new socialist or communist order free from spiritual stagnation and impotence."

These words are particularly significant at a moment when, so it appears, the long-awaited clash between Church and State in Eastern Europe has come. Last week-end a pastoral letter was read in every church in Poland, condemning Marxist materialism, while in Hungary, Cardinal Mindszenty threatened with excommunication all who supported the nationalisation of Catholic schools.

But they have a message for us as well. For, though we in the West have still, as Sir Stafford Cripps insisted at Sunday's Assembly of the Church of Scotland, a chance to forestall the Communist appeal, by carrying "a strengthened faith into the realm of political, social and economic action," the price of forestalling cannot be less than that of transforming a new regime.

"Our faith and Christianity will—humanly speaking—only prevail under two conditions (1) that they carry their witness without trying to be a reservoir and stronghold of the old social and economic order, and (2) that they are really based on the realities of the prophetic and apostolic message."

We shall know that the faith of the Church fulfils these conditions when—and only when—it embraces voluntarily the method of witness forced upon the Christians of the East—when, that is, it ceases to rely on God in the last resort, and the atomic bomb in the first.

Why not a posthumous award?

GANDHI AND THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE

DURING my recent lecture-tours in Norway and Sweden, people repeatedly asked me: Why was not a Nobel Peace Prize ever given to this Man of Peace, Mahatma Gandhi? There was often a supplementary rejoinder: Surely it behoves us even now to give him that posthumous prize!

Why not?

There must be some sound reasons, during the last two decades at least, for withholding such a prize from a man of so high a spiritual and moral stature and political significance; a man who, in his own unique way, tried to lay the secure foundations for peace, starting from his own self, family, community, nation and, at last, the world.

The learned members of the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Storting, the ultimate authority dispensing these renowned prizes, must have their own good reasons—technical, juridical or political. If so, it is a pity that the rest of the world seems to have no means of finding out precisely what must have been going on in their minds; it is sad that some of us, at least, could not be taken into their confidence in some way or the other. For there is no doubt that millions of people all over the world, including some of the most eminent persons, of all races and stations of life, nationalities and political creeds, feel strongly about this.

Why it was not given

A few people, I know, use arguments which might in a sense explain why the Peace Prize was never given, and might not even now be given, to Mahatma Gandhi. They hold that Gandhi was the leader of India, and not of the wider world; that his work lay in India and did not touch the rest of the world; and that his philosophy and practice were suited to Indian traditions and, perhaps, the East, but would have no effect in Europe and the West.

Even if all this were true—which it certainly is not—the great work among the four hundred million people of India, one-fifth of the human race, should surely have been by itself recognised as an essential contribution to world peace. Again, why this exclusive obsession with

The new Churchill

IT has been a considerable surprise to me that among the various references to the recent Congress at The Hague, no one has seen fit to mention what appears to be the high-minded observer to be the highlight (and a most hopeful one too!) of that gathering. I refer to Mr. Churchill's speech at the opening ceremony, as reported in The Times (May 8).

To name only three of his many admirable remarks, I would call attention to these words: "We shall only save ourselves from the perils which draw near by forgetting the hatreds of the past, by letting national rancours and revenges lie"; further, to his statement that it is "the proud mission of the victor nations to take the Germans by the hand and lead them back into the European family." And finally his realisation, expressed in moving and human terms, of the common needs and desires of "all the million homes in Europe."

Yet it was of this speech, that Roy Sherwood in his recent Commentary could feel "a particular joy" that it "drew no cheers at all!"

SYLVIA LLOYD.

Rickview,
Buckland Wharf, nr. Aylesbury.

—and the old Roosevelt

THE last two paragraphs in Leah Manning's article in Peace News, page 1, of April 30, 1948, condoning the "life and work" of the

by
Ayana Deva Angadi

Europe and the West? Why this unsavoury habit of considering only the problems and the personalities regarded as appropriate or popular in the Western Hemisphere alone? Do the regulations and terms of reference of Nobel Peace Prizes restrict them to the men and regions of the West?

Some say that to have given a Peace Prize to Gandhi while he was still in a British prison or defiantly attacking the British Imperialist regime as "Satanic" would have meant a moral indictment of Britain, or, to be more precise, of British Imperialism. The Storting Committee, it is added, were not prepared to take that responsibility.

But was not such a prize given to Ossietzky while he was in a Nazi prison? Did it not show that there was no lack of courage or dereliction of an assigned duty on the part of the Nobel Committee? That is true. Yet there is a difference. The very example of Ossietzky, in contrast to that of Gandhi, gratuitously reveals a little known but very grave danger to the preservation of peace which requires the simultaneous opposing of all systems that threaten it. From the very nature of iron-fisted Fascism, as distinct from velvet-gloved Imperialism, one can perceive the evils of the former much more easily than those of the latter. Besides, one is nearer home than the other—the one threatening the people of Europe and the West, the other affecting merely the far-off Orientals! It was easier to hurl moral defiance against Fascism whose sudden brazenness evoked in us both courage and righteous indignation.

Whatever may have caused the withholding of the Nobel Peace Prize from Gandhi in the past, why should it not be posthumously given now? In America a statue is to be raised to him. In India itself hundreds of memorials are to be built in recognition of his great work. Innumerable

late Franklin D. Roosevelt, are rather discordant in a periodical dedicated to the way of non-violence. "... he looks benignly down on little children ..." This statement will cause many to groan as they contemplate the countless little children slaughtered in his ruthless war programme for profit and empire.

As someone has boldly said: A statue to F. D. R.! By the same token, statues of contemporaries of the same sort should be erected side-by-side: Churchill, Franco, Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, Tojo, etc.

LOUIS OBED RENNE.

114 Cornell Road,
Menlo Park,
California, USA.

LETTERS

Not for the laity

I HOPED someone else would have replied to Mr. Garlick's letter of May 7, to point out that the laity are not asked to assent to the 39 Articles as he mistakenly asserts. I suggest that he should obtain Archdeacon Hartill's pamphlet, "Article XXXVII and War," which deals with this point, from the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, 1, Adelaide Street, W.C.2.

May I take this opportunity of apologising to the new members of the PPU National Council, whom I wrongly charged, in my letter in the

AN URGENT NEED

IT is gratifying to be able to record a slow but steady increase in membership.

Almost every post brings enquiry from a prospective member and we are always happy to forward them leaflets and pamphlets explaining the work of the PPU. Naturally these pamphlets and leaflets are sent to them free of charge but this obviously costs money and your help is urgently needed to enable us to continue with this necessary and vital part of the work of the Union.

Won't you send us your donation now?

Please remember that this is an urgent need.

MAUD ROWNTREE.

Hon. Treasurer.
Contributions to HQ Fund since May 1947: £5 18s. 0d. Total for 1948: £72 4s. 4d.
Donations to the fund should be marked "Headquarters Fund" and sent to Treasurers at Dick Sheppard House, 10, Leigh St., W.C.1.

able suggestions are being discussed to perpetuate the Mahatma's memory—erecting "stupas" and pillars over India, in the manner of the ancient pillars of the Buddhist emperor Asoka, on which are inscribed the edicts of Buddha's teaching; building new towns and cities, house homeless refugees and commencing a new Gandhi calendar to commemorate the fact that the Mahatma was born on May 2, 1869, a "Yug Pravartak"—a man born once in an Age (Yug) and representing a millennium.

If such a posthumous Peace Prize were given now it would not only dress our failure to do this right thing long ago, but would serve two useful purposes.

First, the money could be used in thousand-and-one ways of which Mahatma himself would have approved, and which would genuinely help the cause of the Gandhian creed and technique. Satyagraha more widely understood in this connection the official Committee known as the "Mahatma Gandhi National Memorial Fund" which has already been set up in India under the Chairmanship of the President of the Indian National Congress, would, I am confident, help and advice.

Secondly, in this mad world, within less than twelve months after the most calamitous war in history, cold war is being replaced by preparations for a military showdown; the same old bellicose arguments are being used once again, and the same old discredited values are inhibiting our minds. Would it not at least be that we should be paying our humble homage to the other values that are so completely and incomparably represented?

same issue, with responsibility for the "purge" resolution which I have since learned was passed before he took office?

C. R. GRIMWADE.

Middleton,
King's Lynn.

No sinister significance

MR. VINCENT now says that "scholars" he mean the of-date authorities who are still used by uninformed people. In no study would such a definition of "scholars" be accepted, why use with regard to Biblical studies? does not add to his argument describing modern scholars "modernist scholars" as this is a term which has little exact meaning but much emotional content.

On the general issue of his article, may note that allegorical methods of interpretation of scripture were not only on the Song of Songs but also on which had no connection with sex-relations, they are one of several false methods of scripture-interpretation which were prior to the development of modern biblical criticism. The use of such methods of book, therefore, can hardly be thought to have sinister significance. Pre-Christian Judaism had for a long time interpreted the Song of Songs allegorically.

KENNETH E. G. AKERS.

73 Plum Lane,
London, S.E.18.

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.

* This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

Palestine War Resisters stand firm
as contact with outside world ceases

'WE WORK FOR PEACE' ... REFUSE TO FIGHT'

Batons greet Peace Demonstrators

"It is obvious to all that the terrible situation of murder, destruction and misery, is not conquerable by additional bloodshed and we have to search sincerely for any spark of possibility of permanent peace and agreement between the two nations. Palestine, which is holy for the whole of humanity and the birthplace of true ideals, has to be an example of patience and the overcoming of evil instincts."

"We, conscientious objectors to all war; we, who respect every living being, rejecting hatred and revenge—we, together with the whole movement of the War Resisters' International, have to seek for any possibility of peacemaking between the rivals on the basis of common understanding and mutual assistance. . . ."

THIS declaration was made by Avraham Lisavoder in a report of a recent meeting of the Palestine section of the War Resisters' International sent to the WRI Secretariat in England.

On the agenda for this meeting were three serious problems connected directly with the present emergency: their attitude to the Jewish recruiting order and mobilisation, the question of personal defence, and future activities.

"The general attitude to the recruiting order," wrote Avraham Lisavoder "was negative, but we were faced with the question whether our friends at the age of mobilisation should appear in the recruiting offices, declare their views, and ask for release, or propose alternative service in the field of social work or health service—or not appear at all, not recognising the legality of the authorities. Here the opinions were not in unison. The wish was expressed, however, that where the authority concerned ignored the claim of release from military service, our branch should, to the best of its ability, help the persecuted person."

PERSONAL DEFENCE

"Regarding defence in critical situations which occur frequently since there is no kind of 'orderly war' or 'front'—there were several different opinions."

"It is obvious none of us can join any military organisation, but some think that the individual has to defend himself, or his family or neighbours when attacked. These friends heartily oppose militarism and war, but do not oppose the use of personal violence, not under discipline, in critical situations when conscience permits the action concerned."

"Others stood firmly in opposition to all violence—even in the most critical cases; obeying the most internal, holy order 'Do not murder!'"

Until direct communication ceased completely on April 27, the War Resisters' International Secretariat maintained close touch with members in Palestine. Many of them, in Tel-

Aviv, Jerusalem, Haifa and elsewhere received military call-up notices from the Jewish authorities and refused to comply. Up to date, however, their fate is not clear. On March 9, Nathan Chofsch wrote:

"We have now great difficulties in organisation. I have to write many personal letters to single friends scattered over the land, but this is all that can be done in the present abnormal situation. All the time I am in contact with 'Ihud,' which represents in Jerusalem a chosen circle of renowned personalities with Dr. Magnes at the head. Last week 'Ihud' again appealed to the Jews and the Arabs to cease the shedding of blood, and to stop the civil war and to reconciliation. But we have no illusions. A blind unfortunate world! For Moloch—a great offering of strength; for peace—impotent and weak."

Later, on March 30 this correspondent wrote: "'Ihud' is very popular with the Arabs, especially the name of Dr. Magnes. I am in constant contact with 'Ihud' and a member of the committee. Our own WRI group consists mostly of workers and country people who have to work hard for their daily bread, scattered over the whole country, and naturally not possessing the popularity, influence and possibilities of 'Ihud.'"

"Tel-Aviv friends, especially Eli-jahn, are carrying on a difficult, ceaseless enlightenment by writing and word of mouth amongst Jews for peace and understanding with Arabs. They are few, and every free minute after their hard day's work is dedicated to our work of enlightenment. We do what we can, though we know how little contemporary events will be influenced by us. And yet, who knows, perhaps one day our modest work will bear fruit."

BOTH MUST GIVE IN

From Tel-Aviv George Engel wrote on April 5: "In my opinion both Jews and Arabs should declare that they oppose any further foreign imperialistic domination of their common country, and they should try to find a workable solution between themselves. Palestine must be kept out of the political struggle between east and west, for the benefit of all its inhabitants. Believe me, these are not mere phrases. There is a way that would enable both people to live together harmoniously. Both must give in. The Jews should give up the demand for a national State. The Arabs should agree to Jewish immigration according to the country's economic absorptive capacity. Both peoples should agree that, notwithstanding the numerical proportion between them, neither will dominate the other. Both will for ever enjoy equal rights in the country. Such would be the basis of the constitution."

He adds that despite his insistence on his claims as a War Resister he was finally exempted from military service on the grounds that he was a public servant.

Latest news to hand is from a correspondent in Jerusalem who writes to say that he believes that there is a Jewish censorship of mail. He adds that men up to 35 cannot move freely . . . and the call-up of those between 35 and 55 is starting. He confirms the report that a demonstration for peace in Jerusalem was broken up by Hagana men who used batons, and he believes that 80 per cent. of the population are thoroughly fed up and desire nothing but peace, but are too intimidated to speak.

The Welsh Children's Message of Goodwill

"Dear Boys and Girls of Wales,

"Some weeks ago we heard of your 26th annual message on Goodwill Day and of the arising of your grand idea. Never before had we heard about it and we were delighted that there are boys and girls in your country who are interested in the children of foreign peoples and try to give love to other nations. You have given us more hope to look into our dark future for we know there is one thing that may bring all nations together which is love and enthusiasm. We, German girls of the St. Ursula-Oberschule, Hanover, Germany are looking forward to the Goodwill Day of 1948 to hear your Message and send you our heartiest greetings and good wishes."

"In the name of my class-mates, with love,

Elizabeth Bodman."

NOTHING could better express, at once, the purpose of and the justification for the Welsh Children's Message than the simple, moving terms of this letter. Written in English and sent from St. Ursula-Oberschule in Hanover, Germany, it reached me in March of this year. There have been many responses like it in the story of the message which goes back for more than a quarter of a century.

It was during a conference on adolescence at the Welsh School of Social Service in 1922 that the proposal was first made to send out every year, by radio from the schools, of Wales a greeting of peace and goodwill "to all the world." The BBC and the other great radio systems were not then in existence. It was the Postmaster General who arranged for the Welsh greeting to be transmitted by wireless telegraphy one summer morning, twenty-six years ago. The message was re-transmitted the same day by the French Government wireless station of the Eiffel Tower in Paris.

NO REPLY

No reply came from anywhere in 1922; and there was no reply in 1923. Two replies were received in 1924, one from Poland and the other from Sweden. Then, year after year, as the big broadcast systems of all countries united in transmitting the message, in various languages, replies poured in from all over the five continents.

In 1927, the Welsh Message was fortunate enough to win the enthusiastic backing of Dr. Fridtjof Nansen:

"I have read with the greatest sympathy and gratitude the message of the children of Wales. I think that the one thing which is needed now is to create a real feeling of brotherhood of all nations and strengthen the confidence between them and the willingness of co-operation. I think it is the only way of saving the world. I feel convinced it is the spirit in this message of the children of Wales which humanity needs."

As the years went on there were some remarkable developments. No one not intimately acquainted with the organisation behind the movement could have any adequate idea of the work it involved. It was not, and is not, merely a case of "putting the message on the air." For months beforehand extensive preparations are made in the drafting of the text for the year, in its competent translation into many languages and in making contact with a large number of correspondents all over the world.

INTER-WAR YEARS

In the inter-war years, "Goodwill Day" journals for schools were published in fifteen countries. Some of them like the Swiss journal, La Jeunesse et la Paix du Monde, and the South African Goodwill Magazine, continued to appear during the years of the war. Now, in 1948, there have been published also first-rate "goodwill journals" for the Scandinavian countries and in Holland giving great prominence to the Welsh Message.

There was another gratifying feature in the years between the wars. "Goodwill Day" was celebrated by the holding of Children's Festivals in many cities throughout the world. This happy custom began in Vienna under the auspices of the Junior Red Cross. The programme of folk dances and folk songs included the Message from the Children of Wales and the reply to it of the Children

Rev. GWILYM DAVIES, M.A.

founder of the Message which by 1939 had brought a response from 72 countries. The 1948 Message appeared in Peace News on May 14.

In South Africa

When in 1945, the National Council of Women in South Africa sponsored a "Goodwill Magazine" and invited children to submit poems, stories, plays and articles, Shirley Dodds, then aged 16, and at Wykeham School, Maritzburg, wrote:

"Before we can think about goodwill between nations, we must first have goodwill between the races and classes in our own country. The constant sparring between the English and Afrikaans speaking communities, the Indian question, which seems to be one of the most urgent and insoluble of our difficulties, and numerous other problems, have yet to be overcome in our attempts for universal goodwill."

This little magazine, which printed the Welsh Children's Message of 1945 in English and Afrikaans also contained a short One-Act Play, written during the war by a Grahamstown school-boy, portraying the meeting during the North African Campaign of an English and German soldier, their recognition of each other as friends and their death together on the battlefield.

In the closing scene the "Blood-thirsty" English Corporal tells the British stretcher-bearers,

"I'm done for. Listen, you hear those guns? Fellows like Heinrich (the 'Arrogant' Nazi) are getting killed out there. Fellows like Heinrich and me. Why, why, why? So that a man in Wilhelmstrasse can shout and politicians can deliver empty epigrams. Heinrich and I weren't made to fight each other. Heinrich, I'm coming to you, I'm coming."

As the Corporal dies and before the curtain comes down a stretcher-bearer murmurs:

"Poor chap, quite delirious. They all go that way at the last."

of Austria. From 1938 onwards it was impossible to arrange the Vienna festival but this year it has been renewed as the Children's 'Goodwill' demonstration was last year renewed in Copenhagen and in other cities.

The Message is sent out annually from Wales on May 18 to commemorate the opening on May 18, 1899, of the Conference at the Hague, the first official peace conference with no direct relation to any war.

In the land of its origin, the success of the Message is largely due to the devotion and the loyalty of the teachers in the schools of Wales. In many schools, the reading of the Message, in several languages, is a notable day in the round of the year. And it owes much to the Urdd—the Welsh League of Youth—which, through its National Eisteddfod and its Annual Peace Service, has made the Message its own.

Words of Peace - No 243

SECRET OF LIBERTY

"The secret of true liberty remains courage. We acquiesce in the loss of freedom every time we are silent in the face of injustice."

—Harold J. Laski, "Liberty in the Modern State."

TEN YEARS AGO

From Peace News, May 28, 1938.

In succession to the late Canon H. R. L. Sheppard, who died a few days after his election as Rector of Glasgow University last November, the Rev. Dr. George MacLeod, of Govan, Glasgow, a Sponsor of the Peace Pledge Union, has accepted an invitation to stand as pacifist candidate in the election this year.

Extracts from Peace News with acknowledgments to their source, are read "over the air" from Sydney, Australia, radio station 2GB.

George Darling, in an article in Reynolds News recalled how the rearmament programme had driven up the profits, between 1935-7 of the following firms:
Vickers Ltd., 48 per cent. increase.
Vickers Armstrong, 81 per cent. increase.
Cammell Laird, 102 per cent. increase.
Projectile and Engineering, 156 per cent. increase.
John Brown, 217 per cent. increase.

THE FREE SOCIETY

This, the concluding review of John Middleton Murry's book,* is by A. J. MUSTE, Secretary of the U.S. Fellowship of Reconciliation and author of "Not By Might."



A. J. MUSTE

If a person who has been a convinced and ardent religious pacifist becomes convinced, as Middleton Murry now has, that he has found the war which is "different" from all others, and therefore justifiable and even holy, I am not the one to judge him wicked and stupid. Certainly not if, as is of course the case here, it is profound concern about certain human and spiritual values which leads one to believe that he may—yes, must—draw his sword, or drop his atomic bomb. I went through that experience myself in the early and middle Thirties.

My return to religious pacifism was in the first instance the result of a religious conversion as unexpected and sudden as Paul's experience on the road to Damascus. But thinking had preceded it of course, and reflection followed. That reflection was immensely stimulated and fortified by Middleton Murry's writings of the middle and later Thirties, especially his *Necessity of Pacifism*. That it should be he who now proclaims a holy war; who finds that just because war is now atomic and total we have to be ready to make war, indeed resolutely determined to do so if it should be "necessary"; who writes a book, the political effect of which will be to give support to the most reactionary elements in American government circles who are preparing for a "preventive" war against Russia—all this is saddening. (I am, of course, aware that Murry does not intend the political effect which I have just mentioned, but in view of his repeated insistence in *The Free Society* that we must judge the effect of our actions and words in the actual context of political developments, it is legitimate to warn him of the role his book will play if it exercises any influence at all on this side).

I do not believe, however, that Murry's present position on war and pacifism will prove a permanent one. I learned what it really meant to take up the sword for the proletarian revolution by getting into the Marxist-Leninist movement. What I learned brought me back to pacifism as the only genuinely revolutionary position in our time. Middleton Murry will learn what atomic war means as he goes to work actually trying to get Great Britain and the United States (!) ready for war for the sole purpose of abolishing war and "compelling" Russia to enter the world of tolerance.

I find it hard to believe that he will not soon discover that the reality of preparation for war has no relation whatever to his idea. I pray that it may be before the war which is now already being waged passes into its "shooting" phase.

Before dealing briefly with the crux of Murry's book so far as pacifist philosophy and strategy go, let me remark in passing that it is my impression that Middleton Murry has put two books inside the cover of *The Free Society*, or more accurately, perhaps, a book plus an essay scattered at various points through the book though concentrated in the main in a few chapters. It reminds me of some of the Biblical books where the work of two or more authors is intermingled. The book dealing with the nature of the free society, exposing the true character and awful menace of Communist totalitarianism, describing what true religion is and where it may be found today—in the free society rather than in the churches—is in the great Murry tradition. The essay is an excursion, ostensibly into the politics or world-organisation, war and pacifism. Actually it is an excrescence upon the body of the book, which does not seem to grow out of the main theme or argument at all. The book and essay were written by the same person; but, I surmise, at different times, certainly in different mental states or moods.

On what ground does Mr. Murry reject the proposal to which he admits he is strongly drawn, that the democratic nations should adopt an all-out pacifist programme?

His answer is, "Whatever I might be prepared to do as an individual person, I know that the free societies will not do it." The context makes it clear that he has two things in mind at this point: on the one hand, to ask the democratic nations to adopt a pacifist course is to ask them to achieve a spiritual elevation of which they are incapable; on the other hand, it is asking them to do an immoral thing, viz., "throw down all their defences against a nation which definitely repudiates" the principle of tolerance.

Let us look at the second of these points first.

Mr. Murry's argument tacitly assumes that if the democratic nations were to carry their belief in democracy to the point of abolishing their own militarism, which he admits is necessarily authoritarian in character, even when its object is to "defend tolerance"; if they were to approximate economic equality and a tolerable standard of living in their own borders—as they well might if the burden of preparation for atomic war were lifted from the backs of their peoples, and as they obviously cannot do so long as that burden remains; if they offered economic aid, free from political conditions, to the Russian people and removed from them the fear and tension created by the atomic bomb in American hands, and American warships in the Mediterranean—all this would not alter the course of the Russian people and the Soviet regime. But this is surely a big assumption. Maybe the way of truth and love, which elsewhere Murry so eloquently advocates, would "work," would produce revolutionary effects on the Russian people.

Furthermore, in advocating his own solution, Mr. Murry does in effect have to fall back on the same hope. He argues that if the democratic nations or "the world-authority" were to tell Russia to come into a limited world-government, an international regime of tolerance under law, and were to make it perfectly clear that if the Soviet regime refused, it would be compelled to come in by war upon it, such a war would almost certainly not have to be fought. Why? Because, although the national leaders of Russia might insanely risk such a war, "on the other hand, if the union of the outer world behaved with simplicity of mind and singleness of purpose, these same leaders would be morally isolated from their people, and their rule increasingly revealed as a soulless and fanatical tyranny. They would be in a far weaker position than is easily supposed!" If the superior moral idea and force of the Western peoples, backed by atomic bombs and bacterial weapons, is in the end to effect this revolutionary break between the Russian people and the Communist delusion, it cannot be argued that this superior idea and force expressed in a resolute and sacrificial pacifism would have no effect on the Russian people, except by those who think "the Russians don't understand anything except force," i.e., military force. Such people obviously ought to leave moral force out of the argument.

Which leads to another observation, viz., that even if, as Murry advocates, the democratic nations were to be "free of the slightest taint of moral ambiguity" in piling up their armaments in order to compel the Russians to come into the brotherhood of non-compulsion or tolerance, there would surely be very grave danger that the Russian people would misunderstand the true situation, because the armaments threatening their children with disintegration would blind them to the spiritual integrity and love animating the Practitioners of Total Violence.

It seems to me a hoary fallacy that what love, unarmed, cannot do, love armed with atomic bombs can accomplish. Indeed, one of the basic causes of our desperate state seems to me to be that all talk of love and Christianity and sacrifice seems a mockery to the Russians in a world in which the alleged followers of Jesus have the atomic bombs and believe that having a preponderance of them assures security and the triumph of right on earth.

In the next place, in contending that by practising non-violence the democratic nations would simply be yielding the world to the dominance of Communist totalitarianism, Middleton Murry assumes that there is no means of resistance to evil except violence. The failure of the author even to mention the possibilities of non-violent resistance is a grave defect. And in an era when it is so obvious that the figure which historically confronts Lenin is Gandhi, what are we to make of the fact that in a book which devotes so much attention to the former, Gandhi's name is not once mentioned?

A moment ago we pointed out that another phase of Murry's presentation is the contention that too great a spiritual change is required of the democratic countries in urging them to adopt a pacifist policy of active non-violent resistance to evil. I readily agree that nothing short of a spiritual revolution is being asked. But when Murry has rejected all-out pacifism, he proposes as a substitute a world-authority, composed in the first instance of the democratic nations, who have

given up any truck with power-politics, since their failure to do that "would perplex the moral conscience of the world," and have achieved the determination, "free from all moral ambiguity," simply to bring the Russian people into the world-authority for their own and everyone else's good. "If another war is fought on any other issue than this, then civilisation and the free societies are doomed." I leave out any reference to other nations; but can it be that Middleton Murry is unaware of the fact that nothing short of a spiritual revolution is required to bring the present American Government and the American people to the position he describes?

For my part, I am confident that if they can be brought to this height of freedom from moral ambiguity, they will also be capable of the kind of active goodwill in dealing with other peoples and will possess the "soul-force" which will make them the redeemer-nation which, according to the prophets, is the instrument to bring peace on earth. Or rather, the American or any other Western people can be brought to the state of freedom from moral ambiguity which Middleton Murry correctly recognises is now required, only if they renounce war and reject utterly the concept of the war to abolish war. A people whose scientists are devising ever more ghastly atomic and germ weapons, whose sons are being trained to use these weapons, and among whom the military are in control, as is inevitable when preparations for total war are under way—such a people cannot be or feel themselves free from moral ambiguity—not unless they give up their ethical and Christian concepts entirely, which is the very thing Middleton Murry pleads be not done.

ONE further observation. Mr. Murry argues cogently and correctly, on the one hand, for the fellowship and co-operation of free spirits in a free society and against the kind of conscientious objection which is based on a negative and atavistic individualism which makes community impossible. But he mixes this up with an argument to the effect that the individual person is now largely an illusion! "Will he, nil he, the fragment of the 'socialised man,' which each one of us is every day, does what society as a whole does." To be a consistent pacifist under modern conditions, he continues, he would have had to spend his time in prison, thus allowing his children to starve and abandoning his family. Hence he resigns from the pacifist movement.

I can imagine what it cost Murry to write this and I mean no disrespect to him. But what his argument at this point seems to me to come to is that because in an age of increasing regimentation it becomes more and more difficult to stand against the powers that be and to be "effective" in an immediate sense, therefore one gives up the effort. What all experience has taught, it seems to me, is that precisely at such a time the salt must not lose its savour. And as for one's dependents, has Middleton Murry completely forgotten the terrible but inspired warning: "If a man hate not father, mother, wife, child . . . ?" It is true the dilemmas are fearful; none of us escapes them; but for that very reason it makes all the difference which horn of the dilemma one grasps.

The only way of salvation in such an era as ours is what in one section of his book Murry rejects as Utopian, viz., seeking that Kingdom of love, and seeking it by the advocacy and practice of love and non-violence, which the great teachers have all in one way or another set forth. It is the way Murry himself returns to—and in doing so "comes to himself"—in characteristically noble language in the closing paragraphs of his twenty-fifth chapter: "The truth is that the free society . . . is in such a strait that she can escape from it only by setting her face steadily towards the new Jerusalem." The complete moral revolution which is needed will take time. It "requires a moral revolution in many individuals now. They cannot seize power and impose a moral revolution upon the new generation, as the totalitarians do; they can only act upon men's consciences. . . . Above all, they must cease to pretend that anything less than a moral revolution is required. There is no technical trick"—such as the war to abolish war?—"by which the necessity of moral revolution can be evaded. . . . It is futile to say that it will not work; if it will not work the free society will not work either. . . . The free society is itself a Utopian adventure, if by Utopian we mean dependent on a revolutionary advance in social morality." Amen and Amen!

*The Free Society, by John Middleton Murry. Dakers 12s. 6d. Two previous reviews have appeared in Peace News, by Dr. Alex Wood on March 12, and by Llewellyn Chantler on March 19.

MUSIC & DRAMA

Made in Germany

Edited by
Roger Page

The Murderers Are Amongst Us

I WAS listening the other day to a fierce discussion, carried on between an alert youngster and a placid philosopher, on whether the films were, in fact, an art. The P.P. maintained that they were not, that films were entirely bogus and unsatisfying, while the A.Y. claimed the P.P. was using the example of bad films to make a case against all films. I said (which is unusual) nothing, but the truth is that both the A.Y. and the P.P. had hold of something of the truth.

In general the film is not an art, just as (I here quote the A.Y.) in general the novel is not. But as the novel can be artistically satisfying, so the film can be. It very rarely happens, and it is rare because most films are products of American and British studios. These studios have been concerned mainly in developing an entertainment industry and less with developing an art-form. Their products are put together by a film technique, but the result is usually just a photographed play with words. Of course this is sometimes so well done that the result is great art, although of quite in its own right—instance the film *The Best Years of Our Lives*—and less often still these commercial studios do produce something which is film art.

These comments are prompted by the showing at the Academy Cinema in London of the German film—the first to come from Germany since the war—*The Murderers Are Amongst Us*, which is a reminder that the film can be, in many Continental countries, and pre-eminently in Germany, a wholly satisfying art. And in this film, in one step, we have the German cinema back with us. Here is the old mastery of light and shade, the camera angle, the taut and economical direction.

IN RUINED BERLIN

Some of the shots against the background of ruined Berlin have an impressive grandeur and make a poem out of destruction—note the beauty of the shot as a young couple walk through the rubble or as the doctor stands at the back of a ruined church; note the magic of some of the tracking shots, or the sudden emphasis of a head seen in silhouette against a patch of light thrown through a gap in the ceiling; note how with a few close-ups of dancers' thighs, with every crease in the garments adding to the total effect, an atmosphere of sensuousness is created.

The film, directed by Wolfgang Staudte, is not above reproach; some of the cutting is less good than it should be, and the flashbacks are a little confusingly handled. But the whole is grand. It is a film, it is art, and it is worth the whole of Leicester Square. I commend it to the P.P., and the A.Y. will be glad of it.

ROGER PAGE.

A Short History of English Drama, by B. Ifor Evans. Pelican Books, 1s. 6d.

TO compress into less than 200 pages a historical account of the rich heritage of English Drama is a difficult undertaking, but it is good that it should be attempted in a popular series like this. The main criticism to be made is not of the content of the essay (it is little more) but of the fact that, amazingly, no index has been provided. I take the main value of this book to be for beginners and casual readers—it is not a book for the student—and for such people an index is imperative. As it stands it is only 1s. 6d.; it would have been worth paying 2s. in order to have an index.

When confining himself to historical data Professor Evans is generally unexceptionable, even though at times he can do little more than catalogue plays, and even playwrights. Some of his excursions into criticism seem less happy, although I was glad to see he gives *Love's Labour Lost* the warm praise it deserves but does not always get, and there is a good chapter on Webster and Beaumont and Fletcher.

Some of Professor Evans' comments on modern work are quite surprising, and I am puzzled to know how *Arms and the Man* can be said to have as its dominant motive "the phantasy that within the Palace of Truth each character must speak precisely what is in his mind."

Of Shaw, the author says: "He has given more delight in the theatre to the world at large than any man of his time." But of Noel Coward he writes that he "has probably given pleasure in the theatre to a larger number of people than any other man of his generation." It suggests to me a certain critical blindness to find almost exactly the same phrase applied to the mighty and the meretricious.

And what on earth does Evans mean by saying that the work of Gilbert and Sullivan (odd, by the way, to find this historian making the common error of giving *Trial by Jury* as their first collaboration)

"has suffered from too frequent repetition" and suggesting a self-denying ordinance limiting the number of performances of the operas? Is this some form of high-browism, a protest that an art-form so brilliant, so perfect indeed, should dare also to be popular?

However, that one can find, in this short account, opportunities to pick many a bone with the author, is itself a tribute to Professor Evans for having produced a lively and readable book.

I leave to the last his main stager. I am no defender of the attitude of the State in Britain to the Arts, but the Professor ought not to be allowed to get away with this remarkably inaccurate statement: "... in 1946 when for the first time the State... gives official and financial support to the Arts, including the Art of Drama." True the State has done damn-all about the Drama, and not enough about the arts generally, but, 1946, for the first time! Oh, South Kensington!

R.P.

L'Incoronazione Di Poppea.

AN assembly of international talent was gathered at the Central Hall, Westminster, on Friday, May 21, for a performance, presented by the Morley College Concerts Society in association with the Arts Council of Great Britain, of Monteverdi's last opera: "L'Incoronazione di Poppea" in the version of Hans Redlich.

It was some relief to hear opera which gave the voices their full value. These voices took great advantage of their opportunity, and we were able to appreciate to the full the richness of tone, the skill in control and dramatic expression of the singers, notably of Eujenia Zarewska, Max Meili and Theo Hermann. This was as well, for the orchestral contributions, played with grace and feeling by the Morley College chamber orchestra, were sparse, and too much of the continuo devolved on the harpsichord (which it must be confessed produces, after a period, a certain monotony), and on the cello, viola and viola da gamba.

All praise is due to the organisers of the concert for their boldness in presenting this extremely interesting example of leisurely euphony from operatic pre-history. There are the shapes of so many things to come clearly perceptible in this late production of Monteverdi's musical genius.

But, oh! What would Sir Thomas have had to say about this half-filled hall! And what must Herr Hermann have thought as he surveyed it sadly, comparing it with the enthusiastic oversubscription with which the revival during 1946 of Rossini's "The Italian Girl in Algiers" was received in the fire and bomb-shattered opera-house in Hamburg.

R. C. ROBERTS.

FEDERATED EUROPE THE WAY TO PEACE

THE belief that only a Federated Europe could make possible a federal world government, and that without such federation peace would not merely be threatened, but would prove impossible, was expressed by Rev. Gordon Lang, one of the Labour MPs who attended the Hague Congress, last week.

Speaking at a meeting organised by the National Peace Council on "The Hague Congress and Western Union," Gordon Lang said that this European Congress had revealed a sense of urgency and unity of purpose which had exceeded the hopes of those responsible for organising this remarkable gathering of representative people from the free countries of Europe.

Mr. Lang stated that the Congress, realising the seriousness of the international situation, had decided to demand the convening of a European Assembly, chosen by the Parliaments of the participating nations from among their members and designed to stimulate and give expression to European opinion and to advise upon immediate practical measures designed progressively to bring about the necessary economic and political union of Europe.

The Congress considered that the union or federation should be open to all European nations democratically governed and undertaking to respect a Charter of Human Rights, and resolved that a Commission should be set up to draft such a Charter and to lay down standards to which a State should conform if it were to deserve the name of democracy.

In conclusion Mr. Lang declared his belief that only a Federated Europe could make possible a federal world government, and that without such federation peace would not merely be threatened but would prove impossible.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Town and Country Planning Law, by J. Kekwick and Robert S. W. Pollard. Stevens, 4s.

THIS little book describes for the layman a milestone in the history of English law: the Town and Country Planning Act, 1947. This law, ending the era of territorial exploitation which began with land enclosures in Tudor times, heralds an age in which the well-being of the community will be paramount—or, one should say, *may* be paramount.

For the Act will not work by itself: it has many safeguards and opportunities which call for alertness and co-operation on the part of citizens. This book is a valuable exposition of the law, and indicates clearly how, through an increase of democratic responsibility, we may enlarge the sphere of our national liberties.

L.H.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

ACCOMMODATION

UNFURN. FLAT wanted by pacifist. London Area. North-West preferred. Excellent refs. Box 897. CORNWALL. JOAN and Herbert Lomax (late of Manchester) announce Easter opening of Atlantic Guest House, Summerleaze Crescent, Bude. Vegetarians and others welcomed. Every comfort.

SEASIDE HOLIDAY acmdtn. for Vegetarians at Innisfree, St. Mary's Bay, Ashford, Kent. LAKE DISTRICT. "Beck Allans" and "Rothay Bank" Grasmere. Attractive Guest Houses for strenuous or restful holidays. First class vegetarian diet. Dormitory accommodation at special rates. Enquiries to: Isabel James at Beck Allans. Tel.: Grasmere 129.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation. All modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate. Tel.: Ambergate 44).

WHY DON'T you sometimes spend a homely week or week-end in the heart of the country (Berks) with happy pacifist family? Fruit, eggs, home-made bread. 34 gns. a week; week-ends from 15s. Children welcome. Ring Silchester 70, or write Peace News Box 896.

GARA MILL House, Slapton, Kingsbridge, S. Devon. Few vacancies. S.a.e. please.

TIERED SOCIAL workers and others needing rest and change should write Mrs. Morgan, Columbine, Pembury, Nr. Tunbridge Wells, Kent. Vegetarian. Terms moderate.

WYE VALLEY. Comfortable acmdtn. Full board with family 50s.; June 42s. Wright, "Upfield Cottage," Brockweir, Chepstow, Mon.

EDUCATIONAL

PROGRESSIVE CO-ED school. Usual subjects. Art cizeh methods. Where atmosphere of approval and affection promote health, happiness and intelligence. Home produce, balanced diet. Prospectus, Tony Warner, Oakley Wood School, Sherwood House, Nr. Newton-St.-Cyres, Devon.

METAPHYSICS, PSYCHOLOGY, Philosophy. Intensive courses of home study leading to various distinctions, and membership. Prospectus post free. Institute of Life Science, 18 (PNS), Manchester St., London, W.1.

CORRESPONDENCE AND visit lessons, speaking and writing (5s.) Classes, Tuesdays, Wednesdays Dorothy Matthews, BA, 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3. PRI. 5686.

FOR SALE & WANTED. FOR SALE—Original signed etching of Mahatma Gandhi by Mukul Dey, A.R.C.A. Believed only original in Europe. Best offer over 50 gns. Currie, c/o Aston Webb & Son, 19 Queen Anne's Gate, London, S.W.1. WHITEHALL 2552.

REBILITATION MUST buy typewriters. We arrange advertisements and pay good commissions to any contacts in provinces who will forward replies. Full details from Rebilib Typewriter Co. Ltd., 561 London Road, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex.

PORTABLE ELECTRIC, alternative batteries, perfect condition £12. Box 835.

SPORTS COAT, hardly worn. 36" chest, brown, £5 12s., no coupons Box 598. "HAPPY BIRTHDAY." Beautiful Birthday and Occasional Greeting cards, and charming booklets. Sample packets 2s. 6d. to 6s. Also dainty useful gifts. Sample packets 5s., 10s. M. Everett, The Wool Shop, Catworth, Hunts.

LITERATURE, &c.

ALEC GLASFURD. "Voyage to Berbera." (Sheppard Press, 9s. 6d.)—supplies available, Housmans Bookshop, 124 Shaftesbury Ave., W.1. "GANDHI WORLD Citizen," by Muriel Lester. Just received from India. 8s., post free. Obtainable Kingsley Hall, Powis Rd., Bow, London, E.3.

QUAKERISM. Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee Friends' House, Bunton Rd., London

BIRTHS

SHEPPARD—May 15. To Mary (nee Cockcroft) and Ken. G. Sheppard at Burrwood, New Rd., Holywell Green, Nr. Halifax, a daughter, Melanie.

SITUATIONS VACANT

Situations are available only to applicants excepted from the Control of Engagement Order, 1947, No. 2021. VACANCY FOR Shorthand Typist. Essential qualification concern for international reconciliation. Work connected administration international work camps—non-political, non-sectarian. Financial basis to be agreed with successful applicant. Written application only, to International Voluntary Service for Peace, 34 Broadway, London, S.W.1.

SHEPPARD PRESS requ. Assistant Manager able to do all types of work necessary in publishing house. Full details by letter only. 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

OFFICE JUNIOR, boy or girl, requ. to assist generally in Accountant's City office. Box 899.

WANTED: WORKING Housekeeper. Early June. Run small bungalow. Two in family. Apply first instance in writing. Edwards, 188 Whitby Rd., Eastcote, Middx.

SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED

EXPERT DUPLICATING Service. Enquiries invited. Mabel Eyles, 2 Aberdeen Park, Highbury, London, N.5. Tel. CANonbury 3862.

MISCELLANEOUS

LIFE ASSURANCE—£1,000 for £3 year. Accident. £10 week for £3 year. R. C. Horwood, Turvey, Bedford.

INCOME TAX and Accounts. Company formations, audits, etc., undertaken by C.O. practitioner. Box 899.

GOOD PRINTING of every description. Enquiries welcome. Leighton Dingley Co., Brackley Sq., Woodford Green.

GOLDEN LINK Circle. Free membership to those who are sick or distressed. Full particulars, post free, from: Institute of Life Science, 18 (PNSC), Manchester St., London, W.1.

BENEFICIAL COURSE of Yoga: 2s. 6d. Proceeds to Peace Movement. H. Bloomfield, 98 Glastonbury Rd., Morden, Surrey.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

LATEST TIME for copy: Monday before publication.

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length: 60 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

MEETINGS, &c.

CENTRAL LONDON Group, 8 Endsleigh Gdns., W.C.1. 7.30. June 4. Mansion House tube station 7 p.m., walk with Bert Banyard. June 11. "Communism," Muriel Cault. June 19. Reading, subject "Power," for week-end conference on 20 and 21. St. Albans. June 25. "Military training in schools of Australia," Ted Orr, Australian WRI visitor. K. ZILLIACUS, M.P., on "Western Union and American Power Politics." Kingsway Hall, W.C.2. Wed. June 2, at 1.15 p.m. National Peace Council, 144 Southampton Row, London, W.C.1.

LONDON AND Surrey Areas June Council Mtgs. Sherwood School, Ramble, June 6. All invited. 11 a.m. p.m. Meet at Epsom Station 1 p.m. Picnic lunch at Sherwood School. To be followed by Area Councils, tea, and joint discussion on "A Really Pacifist Policy for Peace." Opener Leslie Wilson.

Further details from London Area, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1. EUSTON 5501. SOUTHERN AREA Council Mtgs. Friends' House, Ordinance Rd., Southampton, 3 p.m., June 5. "Pacifism Today," by Roger Page, at 6 Hales. Further parties, from E. L. Hales, 6 Riverside, Bishopstoke, Hants.

REGENT SQUARE Presbyterian Church, May 30 at 6.30 p.m. Rev. Patrick Figgis. Subject "Rev. Church and the Atom," C of E. Theology. At 7.45 p.m., Sybil Thorn-dike. Poetry Reading.

ISTE

e society to other Murry is rt of a ring the American

they can om moral the kind r peoples will make ig to the peace on ay other state of Middleton red, only e concept e whose y atomic y trained om the le when ay—such ree from up their which is not done.

Murry on the o-pera-ty and ojection istic impossible. to the largely ment of is is to be ions, he his time rve and from the

rite this what his come to egimen-to stand fective," up the t seems the se-argotten an has is true escapes all the grasps. era as rejects of love, tice of eachers. It is a doing y noble twenty-society e from rds the olution aires a They olution ins do. it any-quired war to moral to say rk the ie free if by jonary n!

Dakota a Peace lewellyn

Socialism takes second place

COMMENTARY CONTINUED

is clear that the common reaction to the war in the Holy Land is the very simple one: "Who do you think will win?"

The answers to that question frequently reveal the latest anti-Jewish feeling, ignorant and often not consciously malicious, that exists in this country. Either the Arabs will knock spots off the Jews, or it is to be hoped that they will. Of the probable military outcome of the Palestine campaigns, it is too early to speak but the issue is likely to be a good deal more closely contested than many people in this country think. In fact, the main advantage would seem to lie with the Jews. They have the priceless advantage of the sudden and unexpected recognition of, and presumably aid to, their State of Israel by America and Russia. They have the strength of their fanatical devotion to the cause of Zionism. And they are confronted, not by a united Arab force, but by several groups differing in aim and policy.

It seems that the war in Palestine, if left to run its course, will be bloody and ferocious. There are reports, which we can only hope are true, that the more moderate leaders on both sides would be willing to come to terms if face could be saved and pride satisfied. Unfortunately, dissension among the Arabs on the one hand and the opposition of Jewish extremists on the other make this desirable solution difficult to bring about. Unfortunately, too, the Palestine war is an international rather than a national issue.

Non-intervention

IT would be unwise to push the analogy too far, but in some respects Palestine also takes us back to the nineteen-thirties—to Spain. Armageddon was supposed to be the last battle of all, but, as with Spain, there is a grave danger that it will prove a rehearsal or curtain-raiser for a full-scale international conflict. Too many outside interests are involved for this war to be a civil war.

Russia's recognition of Israel may have behind it the desire to see a large influx of DPs with Communist sympathies into the Middle East.

America's policy on Palestine until the Presidential election is probably determined by the Presidential election—hence the sudden changes which baffle and annoy Mr. Bevin.

And Britain revives the policy of "non-intervention" on the Spanish model, with all the subtle diplomatic trimmings.

Thus, supplying arms and officers to Transjordan is not intervention on behalf of an aggressor, because before Transjordan can be an aggressor it must have a State against which to aggress. We do not recognise Israel as a State, because we have not been told its boundaries; therefore there can be no aggression.

So our non-intervention takes the form, in a serious allegation by Jon Kimche in *Tribune* is true, of supplying arms to the Arabs and imposing oil sanctions upon the Jews:

"There appears no doubt here, after viewing captured material and prisoners, that Arab attacks are being conducted with equipment of which ninety per cent. has been and is being supplied by the British Government. It is equally clear that the British Government is also engaged in action designed to choke the economic life of the Jewish state."

America now accuses us of using her money to aid the Arabs—and immediately there are reports of more alarming strings to Marshall Aid. There may possibly be, as a consequence or as a coincidence, a change in British policy. Britain may decide

to recognise Israel, too, voluntarily, before events force her to do so.

At any rate the unhappy mandate which was never more than a cloak for a purely national policy is now a thing of the past. Irreconcilable promises have been made and broken. Britain has nothing to lose and everything to gain by one last attempt at conciliation. Russia and America, whatever their motives, are in the unusual position of agreeing in their common recognition of Israel. Let Britain seek their support for the idea of letting the Jews and Arabs come to their own terms without war. The war could not continue if Britain ceased to aid the Arabs and America imposed a dollar embargo on Israel.

If this were to succeed, there would be a chance of Armageddon being the last war after all. If not, the present familiar pattern is likely to drag on through Munich to September 3, 1939. In one of his rare lucid moments President Truman once remarked that it was all right to talk of pouring oil on troubled water, but what could you pour on troubled oil? Yet some soothing liquid is urgently necessary, or the appalling irony of a commentator's remark in a recent news-reel—that a military pageant was held "to celebrate VE Day and to recruit for the Territorial Army"—will work out in tragedy, not comedy.

The Labour Party

INTERNATIONAL events have rather crowded the Scarborough frolics off the scene. Not that the frolicking was very riotous. The Labour Conference, all reports are agreed, was notable for its restraint and decorum.

Delegates were determined not to give the Tory Press a holiday at their expense. The potential storms over expulsions and the Nenni telegram failed to materialise. The Executive carried the day, as usual, on all major issues, with, on this occasion, hardly a note of protest.

Constituency party delegates were rewarded for their gentlemanly behaviour by being allowed to air their views, while TU delegates, already mandated, waited impatiently to vote. Nye Bevan treated the boys to a storming attack on the Tories, with a memorable wisecrack about steel and socialism. Manny Shinwell was kind to newspaper reporters and rude to newspaper proprietors. And Ernie Bevan pondered and dominated as much as ever.

Mr. Morrison set the tone of the Conference with a sober and, from certain points of view, realistic speech. An agenda had to be gone through. But there was really one main item on the agenda, an item that did not appear in print at all—the next General Election.

Mr. Morrison urged production for wealth and public opinion for power. What the Socialists present thought about it all is hard to say.

The Labour Party once sought to attain socialism by winning elections. In the course of its career it found that elections were easier to win if, bit by bit, socialism was dropped. Some of its members stuck to the socialism and fell by the wayside. The others went on from strength to strength, until today, no longer burdened with socialism, the Party can concentrate entirely on elections.

Nobody could blame the Labour Party if it sought power for socialism, honestly, for that sort of power is necessary. It is the fact that it seeks merely power itself, at any price, that is hard to forgive. I admire intensely those members of the Labour Party, and there are many of them, who are Socialists. In trying to make their Party socialist too, they are taking on, with more courage than discretion, the hardest job in the world. It is a pity that so much sincere effort should be expended on the impossible.

Sir Stafford Cripps, brooding quietly at the Conference and perhaps thinking of the increasingly serious economic position, subsequently went off to Scotland and told the General Assembly of the Church how important spiritual values were in the battle against materialism. Having encouraged God, he went off again to placate Mammon, and urged upon the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce the necessity of increased industrial efficiency. Even a Christian must remember the export drive. Was he thinking, I wonder, of that export of British arms to the Holy Land?

AGED REFUGEES NEED OUR HELP

—Save Europe Now

THE need for continued support of the work of Save Europe Now in bringing relief to old people, and in particular adults suffering from TB, who cannot be helped from the money allocated to SEN from the Lord Mayor of London's Appeal for Children, is emphasised in a recent statement made by Peggy Duff on behalf of Victor Gollancz.

"In the absence of our Chairman in America," writes Peggy Duff, "I ask you to give a little more, through our European Relief Fund, to keep this work among the old and

sick going through the summer months of 1948.

"During February I spent three weeks in Germany and Austria and I remember most clearly the suffering I saw of the old people, particularly among the millions of expellees in Germany and Volks-Deutsche refugees in Austria. Each new day I visited another Bahnhof Bunker (Underground transit hostels for refugees and travellers) all the way south from Hamburg, through Hannover, Dortmund and Cologne to Vienna.

"I saw them again at Strass, the refugee camp for Volks-Deutsche near the Yugoslav frontier of the British Zone of Austria. Here the old women wear the wide black skirts of the Balkan peasant, but they have on their faces the same patient expressionless look which makes them masks of suffering.

"To these old people, the loss of their homes and possessions is a tragedy so immense that they accept without question or hope the dreadful conditions of their lives. They know better things cannot come in their lifetime. There is no future for them, so they sit and wait for death. Our relief teams try to give them a little extra nourishment and warmth, and above all, some human sympathy and kindness to restore their faith and hope.

"Please help them to continue this work."

Donations may be sent to Save Europe Now European Relief Fund, 15 James Street, London, W.C.2, and can be earmarked for any of the societies aided from this Fund: The Friends Service Council (the permanent Relief Organisation of the Society of Friends which takes the place of the Friends Relief Service); The Save Europe Now Supplies Fund; The Ecumenical Refugee Commission; German Educational Reconstruction, and The Oxford Committee for Promoting Friendship and Understanding with Europe.

Swiss Secretary of I.V.S.P. imprisoned

THE Swiss Secretary of the International Voluntary Service for Peace, Hans Heiri Zürcher has been sentenced by a Military Court to two months imprisonment and to deprivation of all civil rights for the duration of two years. Hans Zürcher refused to retract any of his views regarding military service and was, therefore, summoned before the Court. Otto Ziegfried of Zürich, our present correspondent, was entrusted with the defence. He writes:—

"Hans Heiri Zürcher declared before the Court that peace could never be attained by force. Whilst in Danzig on behalf of the World Committee of the YMCA he witnessed the entry of the Russians in 1945 and experienced for himself the horrible confusion of war. He was then more than ever convinced that peace must be attained by other means—a refusal to use force and armaments.

"Hans Heiri Zürcher has already demonstrated in a concrete way in the cause of peace: in Germany among the refugees, in Austria with Displaced Persons; in Yugoslavia and in Germany in the reconstruction of destroyed districts. According to the Court, Zürcher's views were opposed to the defence laws of the country. The military accuser was very patriotic in his prosecution but less, however, in his conclusions."

—War Resisters International.

HOWELL RITSON

THE passing of Howell Ritson, of Red Hall, Ballycarry, North Ireland, on April 25, has caused deep regret, not only in Belfast, but in Manchester and elsewhere, for he was widely known.

An engineer by profession, he surrendered a lucrative post rather than engage in war work. Coming to Belfast, he became chairman of the local PPU and Convenor of the Friends' Peace Committee.

As soon as it became possible to relieve distress in Europe, he, and his no less energetic partner Muriel Ritson, seized the opportunity with eager hands. They toiled early and late and as a result approximately 1,000 bales of food and clothing left Belfast for Europe. He himself gave all his food points to the cause, and much of his meagre petrol ration went in collecting supplies.

Almost his last action was giving a blood donation to a hospital. Quaker, pacifist, vegetarian, philanthropist, he ranks with those "of whom the world was not worthy."

T. S.

FAITH HEALING

Practitioner brings Peace, Hope and Faith to Supposed Incurables, Nerve Cases, etc., in Hants, Dorset, Wilts., Isle of Wight, Berks. and London Areas. Apply:—

J. P. GRANT,

BURLEY, HANTS.

or

BCM/FAITH, LONDON, W.C.1.

RUG WOOL

Extra long pure wool Thrums. Mixed colours; suitable for Hessian, Canvas, or knitting a Rug.

PACKETS 4/11d. APPROX. 1 lb.

Send P.O. 6d. for sample and Knit-a-Rug instructional leaflet, showing how to make a rug without canvas.

HANKS: solid colours, 5lb. assortments, only 7s. 9d. per lb.

Full range of rug shades but special colours cannot be selected.

Refund if dissatisfied.

U.T.A. 73 Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.

ALL COUPON FREE

Nylon Parachute Material

In white, primrose or old gold, all new long panels, ideal for undies, dresses, curtains.

25s. parcel, postage 9d.

Egyptian Cotton Parachute Material

Long panels, no cross seams, pastel shades, orange, primrose, sky, green, rose or white.

25s. parcel, postage 9d.

Furnishing Fabric

Dyed Hessian, close weave, fast dye, ideal for curtains or loose covers. Attractive shades, gold, sky, brown, green, rust or tomato, any length supplied. 40" wide, 5s. 11d. per yard, postage 1s. 54" wide 6s. 11d. per yard, postage 1s. Samples available. Please send 6d. stamps.

American Cloth

Table baize, for tables, shelves, etc., cotton back, will not crack or crease, printed tile pattern in light green or sky, width 37in.

10s. 3d. yd., postage 1s.

white, in lengths 46in. x 16in. 5 lengths 20s., postage 1s.

Ladies, Girls, New Macks

(Special permit from Board of Trade to sell coupon free), Silva Brand, made from new silver grey balloon fabric, with belt and hood, contrasting cuffs and edging, an attractive coat for town or country, guaranteed waterproof, sizes length 42"/44".

67s. 6d. each, postage 1s.

CELIC & CO. (Dept. 774)
MAIL ORDER STORES, BEDFORD.

Published from 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4, by Peace News Ltd. Printed by W. F. Chifford Printing Co. Ltd. (T.U.), London, N.16.

10,000 sold!
Another 10,000 now available
DR. KATHLEEN LONSDALE'S
ATOM A.R.P. IS
TRAGIC FOLLY
1/6 a 100; 15/- a 1,000
(post free)
The leaflet every pacifist should
be distributing.
from
PEACE NEWS, 3 Blackstock Rd. N.4